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concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(558) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(558) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
594 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

631 used prior to the hearing of a dispute to gain an adjudicating headman's favor.
661
662 Within prescribed limits, antisocial behavior is an individual's misfortune, rather than a reflection on the character of his lineage or hamlet. In the case of
558 misbehavior by a member of the gentry, however, the prestige of his whole family
[565] is involved. Apart from the small minority -- perhaps five percent -- who belong to the gentry, as we have seen, wrong-doers are held responsible for their own acts and punishable for them. A family which contains a miscreant or a girl of loose morals will generally lose little prestige; for, as a proverb understandingly puts the matter, "In good soil the crop will grow better, and so will the weeds." For this reason the family of a man hanged for murder, for example, would still give him a respectful funeral and invite many guests (who would show no hesitation in coming). The same holds true in the case of a man who died as a Hindu after
558 having earlier been a Christian convert. If, on the other hand, any lineage pro-
613 duces more than two or three miscreants or notably loose women within a space of a few years, then the whole lineage does lose prestige and influence. The isolated case can be overlooked, but repeated delinquency within one lineage becomes difficult to pardon.

To summarize the chapter thus far: we have seen that an upper class of
565 families exists, consisting of certain patrilineal descendants of the Badagas who founded each settlement. These families provided the headmen and sometimes other functionaries; they still try to maintain an image of higher ethical standards and greater prosperity and power; but at the same time the entire family can be held responsible for the misdeeds of any member, whereas among other Badagas this is not usually so.

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(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[2] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aḷiya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

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[2] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.